/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for • [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling 115 price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

P
C
/134 cont./
276 by the "Ministerio de Trabajo, Higiene y Prevesion Social."
C This prohibition was extended by Decree No. 578 of 1941 by the
656 same ministry, according to which an exact list of the existing coca plants of the country was demanded and their destruction ordered, /135/ with a simultaneous prohibition against new plantings (Duque, 1945, pp. 445 f.). Of course this prohibition against coca planting cannot be strictly supervised and enforced in all the remote parts of the country.

P The argument for the use of coca has remained the same
276 from the time of the Conquista to this day: it is supposed to
461 drive away hunger and to give strength. "Without coca one cannot work," I was told over and over again when I asked the Paez the reason for chewing coca. And, as a matter of fact, one sees the Paez chewing it on the long trips to market and during every physical task; but only at work, when one needs strength, and not during festivals and celebrations or on festive days. (The shamans are an exception, see below.)

P The bitter tasting coca is chewed by both sexes, and the
276 P boys begin at 12-14 years of age, when they also begin helping
[887] their father with the work in the fields. The girls generally begin somewhat later, and in old age both sexes chew quite heavily and more frequently than is normal in younger years. The men take coca three times a day as a normal dose, and each dose lasts about two to three hours. Nothing is eaten all day after taking the first meal early in the morning before work; the second one P is not eaten until after they return home from the fields in the
[272] late afternoon. During the pauses for coca, unfermented sugarcane juice (nyũsayumfl) is drunk, everyone carrying a calabash with one to two liters of it with him.

P The coca shrub, about 80 to 200 centimeters high, is
276 striking even at a distance because of its fresh, light green,
249 lancet-shaped leaves, which have two slightly curved longitudinal
[137] lines on the underside. Among the Paez of Calderas almost every family has its coca shrubs, the leaves of which, after plant- P ing, are harvested from the first year for about 20 years. Anyone
[437] who does not own coca shrubs himself trades for the leaves in

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
● 437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need;
otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire
family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

276 Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
317 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
[415] with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is
obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at vari-
ous places throughout the region and which men and women look
for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few
stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned
fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his
pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while,
until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the
tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press
the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and
sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely un-
adorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers
take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and
index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The
green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in
the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilo-
grams per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker
is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking
of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (píša) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
● [437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231 are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
[422] enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (ǻtaly; rooster =
235 atalyepítste, chick = atalyelúčkwe are now and then fed with maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/162/

386 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red
824 (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue = séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (škítc), with the leaves of the műzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mítc) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting
[531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor
[415 finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only
531 gourd calabashes (tőka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned
824] and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

323 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there
463 are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others
●[437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
822 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koētes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatōn), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256/). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio. 437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al- 439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high -- [462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's 439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá. [184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/165 cont./

126 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat
439 yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much
184 more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.
126 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Neverthe-
439 less, the trade was most happily made. The coca pouches of
●437 our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos. At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was available everywhere for five centavos.

43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain specialties outside the village, since the initiative for special achievements or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among themselves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example, an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usually do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, because many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that every-
437 body knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or, especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want. Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/166 cont./

435 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for
437 a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only
[804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize (one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilograms). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the customary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity, which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs. The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá. The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged according
[405] to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and contain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by the whole bushels (tlóits), which, however, in Tierradentro contain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and
[432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but
[431] only given away.
[273]

/167 cont./

435 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for food-
● 437 stuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of coca leaves or a man's ruana; a mare, however, is much dearer and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100 square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself. Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to 40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand, is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the relatively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten tomín of sugar cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal. They are valued at 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value, stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize, arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange. Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for
[185] persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is much too fond of drinking his own chicha to give away a two-year old sugar cane field.

439 The goods are transported to the market by men and women,
482 albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite
484 surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists, are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
• 437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
59 3 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines
245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups
249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con-
177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

23) /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized
● 437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant,
433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when
[731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez,
36/ who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

438

438 DOMESTIC TRADE--local and regional specialization in production within the society; (e.g., home and cottage industry, location of particular industries); division of labor between town and country; volume of trade within and between communities and regions; articles entering into domestic commerce; motivation (e.g., profit, prestige); patterns of internal commerce; etc. See also:

Agricultural specialization 34
Marketing 44
Business and industrial organization 47
Land use 311
Trade centers and areas 366
Urban and rural contrasts 369
Trade routes 487

/158 cont./

286 294 438 463 One of them, Talesia Pame, has even developed a small industry from this ability. She now weaves women's belts almost exclusively and barters them for food and other things. She is in her early thirties and has three children. Her oldest daughter, about 12 years old, is also learning from her mother how to weave belts.

286 294 The weaving apparatus (tawkyávitoh) is fundamentally the same type as the one for the bands of the fiber bags. The fork-shaped mounting of the frame is somewhat wider and correspondingly longer. The weaving material is wool. The preparation for making the patterns in different colors consists of stretching the warp threads of corresponding color, which, as in the case of the fiber-bag bands, are laid around a small cross-stick. /159/ The weft thread is always plain white and, in the form of a ball, is used as the shuttle. The general arrangement of the warp threads is such that on both outer sides a number of white warp threads are stretched, then follow four of red, yellow, blue, or some other color, which, in the completed woven band, appear in each case as a colored stripe running through it. The ornamented center section consists of four white warp threads followed by two red ones. The latter serve to produce the pattern and are the only warp threads of the belt that are not woven in the linen-texture technique. They are therefore not included in the shed loop that takes every second warp thread. There are two heddle loops, one of which grasps the warp threads corresponding to the shed loop, while the other grasps the red warp threads of the ornamental chain of the center stripe (Ills. 187 to 190 /see p. 284/).

In weaving the linen texture, shed loops and heddle loops are used in the normal technique. The red warp threads of the second heddle loop are lifted up -- altogether or in part, depending on the design to be formed -- while beneath them the weaving continues in the normal linen texture. Thus, if all the red threads are lifted together, a red cross-stripe is produced as the simplest design, the height of which depends on the length of time the second heddle loop remains lifted. In making designs

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
822 the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
829 whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[439] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send their children far away and do not let them go to the whites, because they believe that the latter would catch them in order to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[237] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes), while two, one over the other, are used for the larger firecrackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long, filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256/). These two or three parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the firecracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[441] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[437] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-contained household economy predominates, and whatever one family does not have it barters for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades, machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/164 cont./

439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in underbidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [438] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio. 437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost al- 439 ways he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high -- [462] as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's 439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [101] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá. [184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241 Economy.--The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines
245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups
249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con-
177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized
437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant,
433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when
[731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population.--Tierradentro is the country of the Paez,
361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/323 cont./

231 There are no animal "pets," and none of the domestic animals serve as playthings or are regarded simply as "pretty." They all have a utilitarian purpose.

[556] The possession of domestic animals is a symbol of wealth. The owner of large tracts of land does not regard himself as rich, while the one who has domestic animals does.

231 435 438 There are commercial transactions with animals among the natives. The prices are very low. "The Indian is poor," they say, "he has no silver." For this reason, animals that among the whites would bring 200 pesos or more are sold among the natives for half the price or even less.

233 232 [246] This state of affairs hardly exists among the natives of the parcialidad of Mosoco. There are already ranches dedicated solely to livestock-raising. Some are planted with pasture grasses, especially poa. There is a marked tendency to improve the livestock, in quality as well as quantity. They know the excellence of the Norman and Holstein among the cattle and the Merino among the sheep. They have special breeds of hogs and chickens.

231 [232] [438] Many /324/ own mules and splendid riding horses. Commercial transactions involving animals bring a just price even among the natives themselves. Some of them are marvelous traders. They still retain the practice of making an offering to the Duende when slaughtering cattle or pigs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras the natives have magnificent herds. Livestock-raising in Mosoco is thus an industry at the height of development that deserves full attention on the part of the authorities.

[782] [233]

23 In the statistical table that we present below one can observe the expansion of the livestock industry in Mosoco and compare it with those of Lame, San Andrés, and Calderas. The owners are natives, except for the whites and mestizos marked with an asterisk.

[128]

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[643] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

/355 cont./

443 of the municipio and even from Calderas flock to the market
438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
439 and several of them walk through the parcialidades offering their wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel through the parcialidades, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago, through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, distributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frijoles, laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty. At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The parcialidad of Mosoco, and in general the entire
438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
439 parcialidades of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, trades with the municipio /356/ of Silvia, located on the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agricultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs, and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of woolen rebozos (rebosos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for their trousers, and shirts.

437 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
[476] tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of

/362 cont./

511 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
●438 hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
439 /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
[301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
[823] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades
511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
[434] investigated have no figures for it.* And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

*[See p. 93 for this table--Analyst]

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Pdez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

?:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [178] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Pdez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular [782] individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [273] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, [177] turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, [438] and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [25] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

574 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 431 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Pdez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

7:Hernández de Alba E-5)(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

142
291
438

142
291
361
438

PLATE 190.—**Páez and Moguex Indians at the markets of Inzá, Tierradentro.** *Top: Páez* Indians buying coca. *Bottom: Moguex* Indians. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 - F]

?:Hemández de Alba E-5# (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15

438
346
291

438
291

PLATE 191.—Páez markets in Tierradentro. *Top:* Market in Huila. *Bottom:* Selling chicha at San Andrés. (Courtesy Gregorio Hernández de Alba.)

[p. 942 G]

7tHernández de Alba E-5½(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

286 [386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411 **Weapons.**—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black [824] or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones [171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or [197] bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. [172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354 **Fire making.**—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, [372] but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, [177] the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

354 Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of 824 wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter [388] are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

● 438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small 439 native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a [435] price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit [804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a [273] chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a